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The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Plays

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THE CHRONOLOGY OF LOPE DE VEGA'S PLAYS

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THE CHRONOLOGY OF LOPE DE VEGA'S PLAYS*

In the study of the development of Spanish dramatic art we are confronted at the outset with a difficulty that does not exist to a similar extent in the dramatic literature of any other country, namely, the extraordinary productivity of the creator of the comedia, Lope de Vega. No less than four hundred and twenty-six of his plays are extant. Several hundred more are known at least by title. The difficulty has never been met satisfactorily, and so we are to-day, after a century or more of considerable effort on the part of historians of the Spanish drama, and of Lope's plays in particular, without adequate knowledge of the exact origins and development of his art, or of his relations to his predecessors, contemporaries, and imitators. Even the most recent studies devoted to the drama of the period in question flounder badly whenever there arises a question of the genesis and development of this or that important phase of the comedia, as, for example, versification, or a character like the *gracioso*.

Lope was the most original playwright in the formative period of the comedia. Originality and versatility are indeed the characteristics of his talent that have given him universal fame. A study of his works shows that he was continually experimenting, and all attempts to beg the question of his artistic development by grouping his plays, as Menéndez y Pelayo and others have done, according to subjects—pastoral, Carolingian, chronicle, and so forth—but evade the issue and lead nowhere. It might be taken for granted that a genius like Lope, who wrote plays for at least fifty-five years (sixty-two by his own count) and who, we know, invented many characteristic elements, such as, for example, the all-important use of the *romance*, or narrative metre, and a character like the *gracioso*, to mention only two fundamental changes which he introduced, would be interested in developing the comedia, and

*Read before the Romance Club of the University of Toronto.

make it conform to changed ideas in himself and his audience. Even unconsciously an evolution in his art and his style must have taken place as his taste fluctuated. We know how Shakespeare, who wrote over a much shorter period, made his blank verse more flexible by gradually substituting run-on for end-stop lines, and we need not consider here other changes in Shakespeare's art which are equally apparent but cannot be indicated so briefly.

There may be higher studies than the consideration of the chronological development of a writer's art, but chronological evolution may be taken to be the basis of them all. In the case of a prolific writer like Lope, no sustained effort has yet been made to determine the chronological order of his dramatic production. In Menéndez y Pelayo's introductions to Lope's plays, we find only vague indications like late and early plays, but to Menéndez y Pelayo any play written by 1600 was early, and by that time Lope had been writing for at least twenty years and had produced several hundred plays. What Menéndez y Pelayo meant exactly by a late play, it would be difficult to determine, but it was probably one written between 1625 and the date of the dramatist's death, 1635. After all, Menéndez y Pelayo trusted to an instinctive feeling in the matter, and excellent as this undoubtedly was, it was unscientific and not unerring. Menéndez y Pelayo rightly showed much concern for the date of the play he had under consideration, and if he felt that the work was an early production, his criticism revealed the leniency that is at all times shown toward juvenilia. The following comments—the first on the date of *Los Vargas de Castilla*, and the second on *El primer Fajardo*—are typical: "Por el título, parece composición de la juventud de Lope" (*born in 1562*) "escrita probablemente en Sevilla" (*i.e. in 1601 or later*): "es esta pieza anterior al año 1604, fecha que parece bien confirmada por el desorden de la traza, la viciosa contextura de la fábula y el desaliño del estilo, que son notas características de la *primera*" (*the italics are mine*) "y más ruda manera de Lope, sobre todo en sus piezas históricas y novelescas". In partial extenuation of Menéndez y Pelayo's vagueness it may be observed that Lope himself had flexible notions about his youth. He averred that *La Mocedad de Roldán* was composed in his *mocedad*, but was in fact written after 1596, when he was almost thirty-five.

More trustworthy than subjective opinion would be some objective method whereby the dates of Lope's plays could be determined within, let us say, five or ten years. When this much has been achieved, means will probably be discovered to define the chronology more accurately. Then we shall at last be able to study the development of his craftsmanship.

To recapitulate and particularize, a chronological arrangement of his plays would make possible studies on his relations to supposed predecessors like Juan de la Cueva, whose dated plays belong to the years 1579-1581, to Cervantes, a rival in the early eighties; to the Valencian group of playwrights, Aguilar, Tárrega, Mercader, Virués; Lope's school, Tirso, Mira de Amescua, Guillén de Castro, Vélez de Guevara, Alarcón, Calderón, Moreto, and others who accepted the comedia as perfected by the master; the development of his technique; certain characters and themes (honour plays, for example); versification and many other problems.

Slightly more than one hundred of his plays can be dated. Not a few autographs with indications of the exact date of composition exist. Only one of these is considered a forgery—*El Príncipe perfecto*. Other plays contain allusions to contemporary events, which give at least approximate dates. Sometimes we have information about the actors who first produced his plays. Lope himself occasionally vouchsafed information on the date of composition. This is at times untrustworthy. An instance has been noticed in the case of *La Mocedad de Roldán*. Another example is *El verdadero Amante*, published in 1620, but written according to the author when he was twelve years of age, that is, in 1574. Lope was, no doubt, a precocious child, and may have composed plays at that tender age, but certainly not the play in question, because before 1580 plays were not written in three acts (with one exception, unknown to Lope and his contemporaries) but in four, as he states very correctly in his *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias:*

> "Y yo las escriví de once y doce años
> De a cuatro actos y de a cuatro pliegos".

Moreover the play in question has some *romance* verse which he himself first introduced into the comedia, but not until about 1585, when he was no longer twelve years of age, but twenty-three. It has been suggested that on publishing this play Lope re-wrote

it, reducing the acts from four to three, and making other changes. He makes no reference to any alterations, and, to anticipate conclusions reached in the present investigation, the verse is such as Lope used in the late eighties. In other words, when Lope dedicated the play to his son Carlos in 1620, he was right in thinking that it was a very old production, one of the very oldest in fact that he ever published himself, but it was not so old as he imagined.

Frequently, following the practice of pastoral literature, Lope introduced himself into his plays as Belardo. Very useful for our purpose are the plays in which Belisa or Lucinda appear. Belisa is an anagram of Isabel (de Urbina), the dramatist's wife between 1588 and 1595. Belardo-Belisa plays belong approximately to those years, as the Belardo-Lucinda (Micaela de Luján) comedias do to 1599-1608. Other plays reflect a personal acquaintance with Valencia, Toledo, Alba, Seville, Granada, and the dates of his visits to these places are known.

Spanish plays, more especially in the speeches of the *gracioso*, contain references, satirical or otherwise, to contemporary events, political or literary, and customs. In this they sometimes served the same purpose as the *relaciones* or news-sheets of the times, as, for instance, when Lope in *El Argel fingido*, 1599, described at great length, and as an eye-witness, the marriage at Valencia of Philip III and Marguerite of Austria. Many plays can be dated by allusions to *gongorismo*, which began about 1609(?). References to sumptuary laws regulating the use of carriages and other luxuries are helpful. The presence or absence of the *gracioso* may be an indication of the date of a play. Lope declared that he first introduced this character in *La Francesilla*. Some years ago, on internal evidence, I determined the date of this play as 1598. But there are plays written as early as 1594, for example, *El Maestro de danzar*, that contain the character. The *gracioso* soon became very popular, but in the older period he was not introduced into every play, and so his absence is not an infallible indication that the play was composed before 1598 or 1594. Chorley used this evidence to excess, but we are more cautious now in accepting it as conclusive.

Very useful are the lists of plays given by Lope in *El Peregrino en su patria*, published in 1604 but licensed in the preceding year,

and the revised list published in 1618. These are *P.* and *P.*[2] of Lope bibliography. The dramatist failed, however, to make his lists complete. Sometimes the titles differ from those borne by plays as we know them. Bibliographers take *Los Comendadores*, mentioned in *P.* to be the same play as *Los Comendadores de Córdoba*, published in 1609, in a volume all the plays of which are, it is true, cited in *P.* A play bearing the short title was acted in 1593. If this is the same work we have here the earliest known comedia with a fully developed *gracioso*, and incidentally the oldest play showing the presence of *décimas*, a stanza that does not appear regularly until about 1610, although it occurs in *El Argel fingido*, written in 1599. Restori thought that *Los Comendadores de Córdoba* refers to Elena Osorio and was, therefore, composed before 1587 when that actress sued Lope for libel. The presence of the *gracioso*, the use of *décimas*, and other features (the absence of octaves and tercets, although on the other hand the number of *romance* lines is characteristic of the times) make it difficult to decide absolutely whether *Los Comendadores* and *Los Comendadores de Córdoba* are one and the same play.

The dates of the editions of Lope's plays provide some material, but generally speaking they give only approximate information about the date of composition. The first volume of his dramatic works was not published until 1604.

Such, then, are some of the methods used hitherto to date Lope's comedias. Bearing in mind that a poet's art suffers a gradual change, consciously or unconsciously, is there any method whereby we can use information gathered from a study of his dated works[1] to determine the stages in his evolution, and thereby get some criteria that will help in fixing the chronology of undated plays? One thinks, first of all, of the changes in his dramatic art, the number and character of his *dramatis personae*, the beginnings of the action, its development and conclusion, the subject matter of his plays—pastoral, historical, honour, cloak and sword plays—and so on. Much could be learned from a study of these aspects

[1]The present investigator is aware of the arbitrariness of this limitation, in that a phenomenon found in a dated play may occur earlier in a published play whose date, because it cannot be defined more closely, has, therefore, been excluded from the schedules.

of his work, but the material collected would be difficult to handle in a prolific dramatist like Lope. Another method that suggests itself is a study of his vehicle of expression, in other words, his versification, and this is the one adopted in the present investigation. It has its obvious difficulties, too, because plays were not intended for the printed page, and were published carelessly, often with the changes, additions, and deletions of censors, actors, and others. Surreptitious editions were based on material memorized in the theatre by men like "Gran Memoria," who sold their garbled versions to booksellers and printers. All dramatists complained of the way their works were published. Some plays underwent such extensive changes that their authors could not recognize them. Moreover, in the compilation of statistics of versification some very difficult problems arise, as, for instance, the distinction between pairs of *quintillas* and *décimas*. The *décima*, or more correctly the *espinela*, was invented by Espinel, a contemporary and friend of Lope. It ought to rime as follows, *abba:accddc*. The pause at the end of the fourth line is frequently disregarded. There exists a kind of *quintilla* riming in pairs[2] with fixed rime scheme very similar to that of the *décima*, a common type being *ababaccddc*. Examples will be found in such early plays as *El verdadero Amante* (the opening lines) and *El Ganso de Oro* (ed. Acad., N.S., 1, 153). In Menéndez y Pelayo's edition they are usually printed as *quintillas*, but sometimes as *décimas*. The

[2]This was called a *copla real*. Espinel's contribution consisted in fixing the rime scheme, and in avoiding a pause at the end of the fifth line. In his dedication of *El Caballero de Illescas* (*Parte catorce de Comedias . . .*, 1620), Lope says that Spain owes much to Espinel, "particularmente las décimas, que si bien se hallan algunas en los antiguos, no de aquel número, como en Juan de Mena las que comiençan *Muy más clara que la Luna*. Composición suave, elegante y difícil, y que ahora en las Comedias luze notablemente, con tal dulzura y gravedad que no reconoce ventaja a las canciones extrangeras. Verdad es que en la lengua Francesa las he leído escritas por el señor Malherbe, en las obras de diversos poetas: pero por el año de su impresión consta que pudo imitarlas si bien se diferencian en la cadencia del verso quinto." It is curious to note that in *El Laurel de Apolo*, Lope again laid special stress on the fifth line: "Que bien el consonante responde al verso quinto." What Lope has to say about the *espinela* is of unusual interest because of his intimate relations with Espinel. In fact the latter states in the prologue of his *Vida del Escudero Marcos de Obregón* (1618) that Lope in his youth submitted his verse to him for criticism.

matter is more important than it may at first seem, because the *quintilla* (in either form) is a stanza that fell into disuse, whereas the *décima* of the *espinela* type was not employed in the early plays, but gradually increased in popularity. For the present statistics the *décima* is taken to be a stanza riming *abbaaccddc*, and the occurrence of *quintillas* in pairs is disregarded, reluctantly, because they seem to be characteristic of the oldest period and useful, therefore, in dating plays. Whether the intermingling of stanzas (e.g., a *quintilla* among *redondillas*, N.S. 1, 239; *sueltos* and octaves, H., IV, 81, 11, 447, N.S., 11, 319-320) is to be ascribed to corrupt texts cannot be determined until a study of Lope's practice as illustrated in his autograph plays is made. The combination of octaves and blank verse occurs so often that one wonders whether the octaves are a coincidence, since there was a tendency to introduce rimes in blank verse, especially in pairs, a tendency that developed into so-called *pareados*, or whether the text is corrupt—as it undoubtedly is in some instances.

Other considerations must also be kept in mind. There was undoubtedly a normal development, but the versification of a play might vary abnormally because of the subject matter, or the special occasion for which it was written. The latter cannot always be determined. *La Limpieza no manchada* (1618) was written for a performance given at the University of Salamanca, a fact that accounts for an abnormal use of *sestinas* (13 per cent.); the presence of a king in *Don Gonzalo de Córdoba* (1622) accounts for an excessive use of octaves (18 per cent.). A curious play in this connection is *El Castigo sin venganza* (1631), which was written in a day and shows in its erratic versification the haste with which it was composed. The play has *quintillas* and tercets—not much used by 1631; the second act ends in *quintillas*, and the third act begins with *romances*, peculiarities for which there is almost no precedent. For the present investigation these finer distinctions are held in abeyance, the only aim being to provide a rough guide to a tentative chronological arrangement of the author's plays. When once his works have been dated approximately, subtler means will have to be employed for the study of plays within certain periods or groups.

Spanish literature favours the octosyllabic line as Italian does

the hendecasyllabic. The latter was introduced, or re-introduced —it occurs in the 15th century, and in the early 16th one of Encina's *Eclogas* (1509) is in royal octaves—into Spain in 1526, on the memorable occasion of an interview between Boscán and the Venetian ambassador, Navagero. This is not the proper place to reconsider the long struggle between the use of the national metre and the exotic hendecasyllabic. The Italian line scored a doubtful triumph in certain types of literature, but not in the drama.[3] Until the seventies of the 16th century the short line was preferred in plays, the most popular stanza being a type of *quintilla* with a *pié quebrado*. Juan de la Cueva's plays of 1579-1581, composed under classical or Italian influence, contain from thirty-four to sixty-four per cent. of long lines. Cervantes's plays of about the same period have from forty-seven to seventy-seven per cent. of hendecasyllabic verses. Lope's oldest play, the only one in four acts now extant, *Los Hechos de Garcilaso* . . . has forty-three per cent. of long lines, with octaves predominating over tercets (22:17). This classical period was of short duration. Italianate as Lope was, he preferred the short Spanish line, and this was, perhaps, in point of time, his first contribution to the popular, national drama. By 1593, when we have his first dated play, *El Favor agradecido*, the Italian line had fallen to about twenty-one per cent. In one of his latest plays, *Las Bizarrías de Belisa* (1634), it was used for only eight per cent. of the lines. In *La Moza de cántaro* (1631-1632) there are no long lines except in one sonnet. This marked a tendency that is reflected in the plays of Calderón.

Blank verse, introduced into Italian drama in 1515 by Trissino in *Sofonisba*, and the recognized verse of Italian, and later of English, drama, found but little favour in Spain. Cervantes used it more than any other playwright, but he had spent five years in

[3]As Lope very wisely observed,

"Con los versos extrangeros,
En que Lasso y Boscán fueron primeros,
Perdimos la agudeza, gracia y gala,
Tan propia de expañoles . . .
Y así ninguno lo que imita iguala,
Y son en sus escritos infelices,
Pues ninguno en el método extrangero
Puso su ingenio en el lugar primero."

Italy during the receptive period of youth. In him the percentage of blank lines in a play of 1580 ran as high as twenty-one, but in Juan de la Cueva's and Lope's plays it never rose above ten and that only in the latter's early work. After 1610 it almost disappeared, to reappear, however, in a late play, *Las Bizarrías de Belisa* (1634), to the extent of six per cent., three of which were, however, in rimed couplets (*pareados*). The Spanish tendency to insert rimes in blank verse has been noted before. At first the intention was apparently to give something like the effect of stanzaic structure, or to relieve the monotony of rimeless long lines. Few Spanish poets—and Lope is no exception—have mastered the rhythm of blank verse, and to them "rime the rudder is of verses, with which, like ships, they steer their courses." As early as *La Francesilla* (1598) we find twenty-two lines of blank verse followed by eight in riming couplets. In his later plays, if he used the line, it was almost always in *pareados*.

In Lope the octave[4] held its own better than any other hendecasyllabic line, appearing pretty regularly in all of his plays at a steady percentage of about five. Lope found it a useful stanza for grave situations, and doubtless too, his constant practice in writing epics made the octave a convenient medium that required a minimum of exertion. In his treatise on the *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* (1609) he assigned to it and to tercets a narrative function, in which capacity they serve consistently in the plays of Cervantes. In the comedia, as it was finally established by Lope, the octosyllabic *romance* became, however, the narrative metre of most frequent use. It was chiefly when the situation was very grave (e.g., in *Don Gonzalo de Córdoba*, 1622, Ob. S., X, 447) that the octave was preferred to the *romance*. Long narratives called *relaciones* were, I believe, written exclusively in *romance* metre, at least in cloak and sword plays. To them reference will be made later in this study.

The tercet struggled in vain for recognition. After 1600 it is often absent from plays altogether. Calderón, as is well known,

[4]As is well known, in early 15th and 16th century drama, in many countries, perhaps under Italian influence, the royal octave was the favourite stanza. In Spain, however, it occurred only sporadically before 1580, when Juan de la Cueva and Cervantes made it their favourite long line.

eschewed tercets, for the same reason, doubtless, that induced Lope gradually to disregard them, namely, the fact that they served no purpose for which the octave could not be employed. By a law of nature one form had, therefore, to yield to the other. The octave had an advantage over its rival in that it was the stanza preferred in the epic, a form of literature much cultivated by Lope and other poets of the time. Curiously enough in *La buena Guarda* of 1610 tercets rose to twelve per cent., the last flicker of a dying flame. It is interesting to note that Carlos Boil, a preceptist, in 1616 counselled against the use of tercets in favour of the *redondilla*, the favourite metre of the comedia as we shall see later.

It is in the national, octosyllabic line that we find the most consistent evolution. The stanza preferred in the pre-Lope period was the *quintilla* with *pié quebrado*, a type of *quintilla* that curiously enough was not carried over into the comedia at all.[5] Even the *quintilla* of five full lines Lope used sparingly, and in his treatise of 1609 he disregarded it altogether. From about this year on, it occurs in decreasing amount, and in many plays is wholly absent. Even in his earlier plays (*ca.* 1600) he sometimes dispensed with it. It served no purpose for which the *redondilla* could not provide, and only a desire for variety saved it from extinction. In so late a play as *El Desprecio agradecido* (1633-1635) it occurs to the extent of twenty per cent. and surpasses *redondillas* (20:13), a phenomenon for which we can find parallels only in the nineties of the preceding century.

In the *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* of 1609 Lope prescribed *redondillas* for "*las* [*cosas*] *de amor*," but as he had used the line within the preceding ten years for as much as ninety-five per cent. of a play and was during that decade a confirmed *redondillista*, his theory was obviously not consistent with his practice. A study of the schedule of his versification between about 1600 and 1610 shows that Lope was experimenting with the *redondilla* as the exclusive octosyllabic line for the comedia, and finally decided against its excessive use. It is the only metre that occurs in every Lope play. The average percentage of its use is forty-six,

[5]It occurs sporadically in Tirso de Molina.

below which plays fall most consistently after 1622. After about 1610 Lope gradually ceased to make the *redondilla* the metre of his preference.

The line that finally triumphed over the *redondilla* was the *romance*. It was Lope, we may suppose, who first used it in the comedia. There is a curious tradition that Juan de la Cueva first introduced the *romance*. It is the metre of balladry, and Juan de la Cueva took some of his subjects from ballads, but he was too much of a classicist to employ so popular a metre, and in fact it does not occur at all in his plays. Lope used it hesitatingly at first, probably in the late eighties, when the ballad was at the height of its popularity in Spain, and then only in short, unbroken narrative. One can only conjecture the date of its first appearance. It does not occur at all in *Los Hechos de Garcilaso . . .*, or *La Pastoral de Jacinto*. There is one narrative of twenty-four lines in *El verdadero Amante*, and about four per cent. in *El soldado amante*, a play that belongs to the Osorio period (1587 or earlier). Schedule II shows that it is wanting in four early plays, whereas Schedule I demonstrates clearly that from 1593 on it formed an integral part of the versification of the comedia. One may postulate as a working hypothesis that Lope first introduced the *romance* line about the year 1585. It was apparently some years before he realized the possibilities of this characteristically Spanish verse, but except during the period of his extreme *redondillaísmo*, to which reference has already been made, he extended its use consistently until, in his closing years, he employed it for as much as fifty-four per cent. of his lines. From 1622 on, it frequently surpassed the *redondilla*, a tendency that was continued in Calderón (see Schedule V), who, in a play composed in 1680, *Hado y divisa de Leónido y de Marfisa*, used it almost exclusively (85 per cent.).[6] In the drama of no other nation was the triumph of the popular element so complete.

As Lope stated in his treatise of 1609, the *romance* excelled in narrative. This was its exclusive use in the oldest period, but it very soon served in dialogue, and gradually became a convenient vehicle for any informal occasion. Attention has been called above to its use in chronicling events of the day, the first play in

[6]Long before this date, and even in Lope's time, its extensive use in long speeches necessitated changes of assonance.

which it was employed extensively for this purpose being *El Argel fingido* (1599). The very existence of the secular drama was threatened at the time, and one cannot help thinking that the full account of the royal wedding was intended in part to appease the new king. No less than ten per cent. of the play was devoted to *romances* describing the event.[7] From this date on occurrences in the royal family were responsible for many *romances*, irrelevant, of course to the matter in hand. More important from the standpoint of dramatic art was the introduction of the epic device of beginning the play abruptly, and when occasion offered—usually very early in the first act—of narrating the antecedents of the action occurring before the opening of the play. No practice was so much abused, and no other factor contributed so much to the degeneration of the comedia. Among dated plays, so far as I can determine, the earliest example is found in *De Cosario a Cosario* (1618-1621), a landmark, therefore, in the history of the Spanish drama.

A curious phenomenon in the history of the *romance* is its use to close the acts of a play. This became a conscious practice from about 1608 on, the first play revealing the characteristic being *La Batalla del honor* (1608). Very apt here is a sentence from Suárez de Figueroa's *El Pasagero* (A. 3) of 1617: Sobre todo os ruego escuséis la borra de muchos romances, porque tal vez ví comenzar y concluir con uno la primera." A glance at Schedule I will show that so far as Lope is concerned Suárez's observations are inexact. It is true that Lope begins the first act of *La hermosa Ester* (1610) and *El Médico de su honra* (1621-1623) with *romances*, but these are exceptions, and a study of his plays convinces me that he made a special effort to avoid beginning any act with *romances*, his preference here being *redondillas*. He sometimes introduces a few lines of *redondillas* at the beginning of an act apparently for the sole purpose of avoiding a practice which must have been abhorrent to him. One can only conjecture that Lope's reason for closing the acts with *romances* was a desire to warn the audience of the approaching conclusion. In the case of the last act this

[7]Lope published on the occasion a *Romance a las bodas que se celebraron en Valencia*, Valencia, 1599.

would, of course, run counter to his precept as expressed in the *Arte nuevo* . . .:

> "Pero la solución no la permita
> Hasta que llegue a la postrera scena,
> Porque, en sabiendo el vulgo el fin que tiene,
> Vuelve el rostro a la puerta. . . ."

In *De Cosario a Cosario* (1618-1621) he introduces *romances* near the end of the play, interrupts them by using eighty lines of *décimas*, and concludes with *romances*. Whether his intention was to puzzle the audience can only be surmised. An interesting study of Lope's autograph plays could be made to determine whether he began the *romances* at a definite place in his *pliegos*.

The *romance* became the normal metre for narrative, as has been noted before. In a play of 1626 we read:

> "Gusto de señora tienes,
> que yo esperaba un romance,
> y en verso grave (here = *silva*) procedes."
>
> *Amor con vista, Com. inéd.*, p. 144.

In *El Castigo sin venganza* (Ob. S., VIII, pp. 409-410) of 1630 something like a *relación* appears in *sestinas*, and other examples could easily be given to show that Lope, like other dramatists of the period, occasionally departed from the normal, for the sake of variety or because of the nature of the play or the occasion for which it was composed.[8]

There remains only one more octosyllabic line, the *décima*. On its structure something has already been said. In the *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* it is recommended for complaints. Its earliest appearance in a play of known date is in *El Argel fingido* (1599). It occurs again five years later in *La nueva Victoria de Santa Cruz* (1604?), and at intervals in succeeding years, but does not appear regularly until about 1610. After that its success is assured, and it becomes an integral part of almost every play, its rise corresponding with the fall of its progenitor the *quintilla*. A signal mark of the esteem in which this fine stanza was held is its frequent use from about 1618 on in the opening lines of acts.

[8] The use of heptasyllabic *romances* (*endechas*) deserves a special study.

Its crown of glory was achieved in Calderón's *La Vida es Sueño* (*ca.* 1632), where it served in Segismundo's famous monologues.

The remaining metres are *sestinas, silvas* and sonnets. Songs in varying metres occur in almost every play. No conclusions can be drawn at present about their chronological evolution. Nor can they be dealt with satisfactorily in schedules of versification, because frequently only a few lines are quoted. In one of Montalván's plays, *Por el mal me vino el bien,* we read the stage direction: "*Cante Flor lo que quisiere hasta dos coplas.*" That they were not always the composition of the dramatists themselves is, of course, obvious. The *sestina* first occurs in *El Maestro de danzar* (1594), but is characteristic of the plays of a much later date, and its isolated occurrence in *El Maestro de danzar* makes one suspect an interpolation of a later period. Most plays have one or two sonnets, and their use seems constant throughout the Lope period. They are found in Juan de la Cueva's and Cervantes's plays, but are absent from the three Calderón plays analyzed in Schedule V. Lope prescribed them for soliloquies—"*el soneto está bien en los que aguardan*"—and that on the whole is their restricted function. Soliloquies occur, however, in almost every metre (e.g. *sestinas,* Lope, H., III, 284; *redondillas,* II, 470; *quintillas,* II, 523; octaves, II, 503; *décimas,* I, 553, etc.), but most commonly in sonnets.

Attention to the above considerations and a wise use of the Schedules will help to determine the approximate chronology of most of Lope's undated plays. The date of composition can be determined not so much by a consideration of the percentage of any one metre, as by the use of several. Professor S. Griswold Morley, to whom I am indebted for information about three inaccessible comedias, has undertaken the compilation of statistics on all of Lope's plays. When the results of this laborious undertaking are available, the chronological arrangement of Lope's works will be a comparatively easy matter.

APPENDIX

Schedules of Versification

I.—LOPE'S DATED PLAYS

Date	Title	Redondillas	Quintillas	Romances	Décimas	Octaves	Tercets	Sueltos	Silvas	Sonnets	Miscellaneous verses	Opening and closing verses in each act Remarks
1593	Favor agradecido, El	55	13	5	..	7	4	10	..	1 (2)	3 (ses.)	re.-su.; q.-su.; su.-re.
1594	Maestro de danzar, El	74	3	4	..	3	..	9	3	1 (3)	....	re.-oct.; re.-su.; re.-re.
	San Segundo de Avila	40	32	9	..	5	2	5	..	1 (2)	24ll. ses.	re.-oct.; oct.-q.; q.-oct.
	Laura perseguida (*Not accessible to me*)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....	
	Leal Criado, El (*Not accessible to me*)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
1596?-1598?	Santa Liga, La	22	38	19	..	5	10	4	..	..	....	q.-ro.; q.-re.; su.-q.
1597?	Batuecas de Alva, Las	35	31	7	..	11	..	11	..	1 (3)	1-(song)	q.-re.; su.-endechas; re-ro.
1598?	Francesilla, La	79	3	4	..	1	2	7	..	..	....	re.-re.; re.-re.; re.-re.
1598-1603	Padrino despiado, El (*Not accessible to me*)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....	
1599	Blasón de los Chaves . . .	21	47	14	..	6	2	4	..	1 (2)	....	oct.-so.; re.-so.; su.-ro.
	Pobrezas de Reinaldos, Las	20	39	19	..	10	6	3	..	..	....	q.-q.; re.-q.; q.-ro.
?	Rústico del Cielo, El	63	16	4	..	4	1-	6	..	..	1-(song)	re.-su.; re.-re.; q.-re.
?	Cautivos de Argel, Los	73	3	12	..	2	1	8	..	1 (2)	....	re.-su.; re.-re.; ter.-ro.
?	Argel fingido, El	40	22	14	1	8	2	5	..	1 (3)	2 (ses.)	re.-re.; re.-re.; q.-ro. (2% short line octaves N.S., 111, p. 496)

1599-1603	Angélica en el Catay	41	23	7	..	12	4	5	..	3 (7)	1 (canc.)	q.-ro; re.-oct.; re.-re.
	Desposorio encubierto, El	56	28	5	..	1	..	6	..	1 (4)	....	re.-oct.; q.-re.; so.-re.
	Gallardo Catalán, El	57	11	12	..	8	..	6	..	1 (3)	1 (ses.) 1 (song)	re.-oct.; re.-son.; re.-ro.
1600?	Contienda de García, La (R.C., p. 144, 1599)	26	27	21	..	11	2	12	..	(1)	....	q.-su.; q.-re.; ter.-oct.
1601-02	Amantes sin amor, Los	75	17	2	..	2	..	6	..	1 (2)	....	re.-q.; re.-re.; re.-re.
1601-06	Amante agradecido, El	72	..	7	..	9	1	7	..	(1)	1-(song)	re.-re.; re.-re.; re.-re.
	Príncipe despeñado, El	50	20	14	..	4	1	6	5	..	5 (ses.)	q.-ro; re.-re.; q.-re.
	Cuerdo Loco, El	40	25	15	..	10	2	5	..	1 (3)	....	re.-re.; oct.-re.; re.-ro.
1602?	Piedad ejecutada, La (*Not accessible to me*)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....	
1602-3?	Tragedia del Rey D. Sebastián (*Menéndez y Pelayo, 1593*)	46	24	13	..	4	2	7	..	(1)	1 (song)	re.-oct.; q.-q.; re.-ro.
	Cordobés valeroso, El	74	5	7	..	8	..	2	..	1 (3)	1 (ses.)	re.-oct.; re.-son.; re.-ro.
	Corona merecida, La	85	..	11	..	2	..	2	..	1 (3)	....	re.-re.; re.-re.; re.-ro.
1603?	Arenal de Sevilla, El	95	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	1 (3)	....	re.-re.; re.-re.; re.-re.
1603-6?	Gallarda toledana, La (*Not accessible to me*)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		....	
1603?-13?	Gran Duque de Moscovia, El	51	23	13	..	2	1	7	..	(1)	½-(song)	q.-ro.; re.-re.; q.-ro.
1604	Carlos V. en Francia	74	11	6	..	5	..	4	..	(1)	....	re.-re.; re.-su.; q.-re.
?	Nueva Victoria de S. Cruz, La	41	24	18	1	6	2	7	..	..	....	q.-re.; re.-oct.; q.-re.
	Prueba de los amigos, La	89	..	..	..	4	..	4	..	1 (2)	-(songs)	re.-re.; oct.-re.; re.-re.
1605?	Noche toledana, La	84	..	12	..	3	..	3	..	2 (4)	....	re.-re.; re.-re.; su.-ro.
1605-6	Testigo contra sí, El (*Not accessible to me*)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....	

I.—LOPE'S DATED PLAYS—*Continued*

Date	Title	Redondillas	Quintillas	Romances	Décimas	Octaves	Tercets	Sueltos	Silvas	Sonnets	Miscellaneous verses	Opening and closing verses in each act Remarks
1605-11	Premio de la hermosura, El	44	4	30	8	3	2	..	..	(1)	4 (ses.) 2 (songs)	dé.-dé.; re.-ro.: re.-ro. (132 ll.?, pp. 467-468, Ac. XIII)
1606-09	Hamete de Toledo (*Not accessible to me*)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....	
1606-11	Octava Maravilla, La (*Not accessible to me*)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	
1608	Batalla del honor, La	55	9	17	2	4	1	7	..	(1)	2 (ses.)	re.-ro; q.-ro.; q.-ro.
1609-14	Peribáñez y el comendador	50	14	22	..	2	..	5	..	1 (2)	1 (ses.) 2 (songs)	q.-ro; q.-ro.; re.-ro.
1610	Buena Guarda, La	56	2	15	..	2	1	12	8	1 (3)	1 (song)	re.-ro;. re.-ro.; re.-ro.
	Caballero del Sacramento,El	36	21	15	..	3	4	6	..	1 (2)	6 (ses.)	oct.-re.; q.-ter.: re.-q.
?	Don Juan de Castro, I	38	27	15	..	12	1	3	..	(1)	....	re.-re.; re.-ro.; q.-ro.
?	Don Juan de Castro, II	49	16	20	..	4	..	5	..	1 (3)	....	re.-ro.; re.-ro.; q.-ro.
1610-18	Virtud, pobreza . . .	39	6	40	..	4	4	2	..	1 (2)	....	re.-ro.; re.-su.; re.-ro.
	Servir a Señor discreto	51	1	19	..	14	3	6	..	1 (2)	1 (song)	re.-ro.; su.-ro.; re.-ro.
1610-19	Villana de Getafe, La (*Not accessible to me*)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....	
1611	Barlán y Josafá	50	4	30	5	3	..	2	..	(1)	3 (canc. silv.?)	re.-si. or canc.?; re.-ro; q.-ro.
?	Discordia . . . casados	50	6	27	2	2	7	3	..	1 (3)	....	re.-ro.; re.-ro.; re.-ro.

	Mejor Mozo de España, El	76		18	..		..	4	..	1 (3)	....	re.-ro.; re.-re.; re.-ro.
1612	Bastardo Mudarra, El	27	16	28	3	6	4	1	..	2 (4)	....	re.-ro; ter.-oct.; re.-oct.
1613	Dama boba, La	52	3	32	..	2	..	5	..	1 (2)	3 (songs)	re.-ro.; re.-ro.: q.-ro.
1614	Mayor imposible, El	41	1	37	6	2	2	1	..	2 (4)	1 (song) 3 (ses.)	re.-ro.; re.-ro.; re.-ro.
1615	Galán de la membrilla, El	39	10	26	3	3	1	5	..	1 (3)	3 (ses.) 2 (songs) 1 (canc.)	re.-ro.; q.-ro.; re.-ro.
1615-1616?	Portuguesa . . ., La	41	..	31	3	10	..	4	..	1 (3)	8 (ses.)	re.-ro.; ses.-ro.; re.-ro.
?	Dos Estrellas trocadas	37	8	32	5	7	2	1	..	1 (2)	2 (ses.) 1 (song)	re.-ro.; ter.-re.; re.-ro.
1616	Sembrar en buena tierra, El (*Not accessible to me*)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....	
	Quien más no puede (*Not accessible to me*)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....	
?	Viuda, casada y doncella (*Not accessible to me*)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....	
1616-18	De cuando acá nos vino (*Acts 1 and 3 only*)	47	9	29	..	5(?)	..	8(?)	..	..	1 (song)	re.-ro.; (re.-ro.); re.-ro.
1617	Desdén vengado, El	51	..	34	3	4	2	4	..	1 (3)	....	re.-ro.; re.-ro; re.-ro.
	Lo que pasa en una tarde	55	1	32	2	5	1	..	..	1 (2)	....	dé.-ro.; ter.-ro.; re.-ro.
	Mártires del Japón, Los	57	1	24	6	..	..	..	2	..	....	si.-dé.; re.-re.; ro.-ro.
1618	Limpieza no manchada, La	22	6	36	5	5	..	½	..	1 (2)	1 (ses.)	re.-ro.; dé.-ro.; re.-ro. (*Play has only 2020 ll.*)
1618-1621	De Cosario a Cosario	51	..	37	7	2	..	..	..	1 (3)	....	dé.-ro.; re.-ro.; re.-ro.
1620-1621	Marido más firme, El	38	..	31	10	9	4	2–	..	1 (2)	2 (ses.)	dé.-ro.; ses.-ro.; re.-ro.
1621	Amor, pleito y desafío	32	..	37	13	6	..	2	..	(1)	5 (ses.)	dé.-ro.; dé.-ro.; re.-ro.
	Dios hace reyes (*Not accessible to me*)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....	

I.—LOPE'S DATED PLAYS—*Continued*

Date	Title	Redondillas	Quintillas	Romances	Décimas	Octaves	Tercets	Sueltos	Silvas	Sonnets	Miscellaneous verses	Opening and closing verses in each act. Remarks.
1621-23?	Médico de su honra, El	46	..	42	7	..	..	3	..	..	....	ro.-re.; re.-si.; re.-ro..
1622	Don Gonzalo de Córdoba	47	..	29	5	17	..	..	..	(1)	....	re.-ro.; re.-oct.-re.-ro
	Juventud de San Isidro (2 acts)	27	..	38	16	9	..	..	4	1 (3)	3 (songs)	re. (or ro. of song)-ro.; dé.-ro.
	Niñez de San Isidro, La	34	..	43	5	10	..	..	(18 ll.)	(1)	4 (ses.)	dé.-ro.; re.-ro.
1623	Poder en el discreto, El	36	..	29	26	7	..	1	..	1 (2)	....	dé.-so.; dé.-ro.; re.-ro.
?	Boba para los otros . . .	25	3	49	3	6	..	..	11	..	....	q.-ro.; si.-ro.; si.-ro.
?	Corona de Hungría, La	35	9	38	9	3	..	1	..	1 (2)	....	dé.-ro; re.-ro.; re.-ro.
1624	Marqués de las Navas, El	29	..	49	10	1	1	..	6	..	....	dé.-ro.; re.-ro.; re.-ro.
1625	¡ Ay, Verdades, que . . .	46	6	30	13	..	..	3(par.)	..	(1)	....	dé.-ro; q.-ro.; re.-ro.
	Niñez del padre Rojas, La	40	2	35	11	2	(21 11.)	..	..	..	2 (ses.)	dé.-ro; re.-ro.; re.-ro.
	Brasil restituído, El	34	1	39	18	5	..	1(par.)	..	..	1 (song)	dé.-ro.; q.-dé.; re.-ro.
?	Esclava de su galán, La	36	3	36	11	3	..	7(par.)	2	(1)	....	re.-ro.; re.-ro.; re.-ro.
1626	Amor con vista	43	..	34	4	2	1	(24 11. par.)	9	(1)	1 (ses.)	re.-ro.; re.-ro.; re.-ro.
	Piadoso aragonés, El	33	..	31	19	4	4	2(par.)	1	1 (2)	2 (ses.)	par.-ro.; re.-ro.; ses.-ro.
	Sin Secreto no hay amor	49	..	36	8	2	2	..	1	1 (2)	....	re.-ro.; re.-ro.; dé.-ro.
1627	Del Monte sale quien . . .	33	4	37	10	4	1	..	..	..	5 (ses.)	re.-ro.; re.-ro.; re.-ro.
1628?	Amar, servir y esperar	21	..	44	12	4	..	2	4(?)	1 (2)	2	si(?)-ro.; re.-ro.; re.-ro.

1629	Vida de San Pedro Nolasco, La	26	..	46	6	4	..	..	13	1 (2)	3 (ses.)	si.-ro.; re.-ro.; si.-ro.
	Selva sin amor ,La (Egloga of one Act)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....	
1631	Castigo sin venganza, El	25	7	44	10	1	4	4(par.)	7	(1)	2 (ses.)	re.-ro.; dé.-q.; ro-.ro.
	Noche de San Juan, La (*Not accessible to me*)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....	
1631-1632	Moza de cántaro, La	57	..	29	5	5	..	..	..	1 (3)	....	re.-ro.; re.-re.; re.-ro.
1633-1635	Desprecio agradecido, El	13	20	49	4	7	..	..	3	(1)	....	re.-ro.; re.-ro.; re.-ro.
1634	Bizarrías de Belisa, Las	22	..	54	11	2	..	3(par.)	..	(1)	4 (ses.)	re.-ro.; dé.-ro.; re.-ro.

II.—LOPE'S EARLY PLAYS

	Hechos de Garcilaso . . . (Four Acts)	53	½	..	..	22	17	4	..	(1)	2	ter.-re.; re.-ter.; ter.-re.; oct.-re.
	Pastoral de Jacinto, La (First 3 Act play?)	12	65	..	..	6	2	2	3	1 (3)	6 (ses.)	so.-si.; q.-ses.; q.-re.
	Verdadero Amante, El (Written at 12, 1574?)	47	34	(24 11.)	..	2	6	6	..	..	2	q.-q.; q.-su.; su.-su.
1587?	Belardo furioso, El	40	36	..	..	6	9	5	..	..	....	oct.-q.; q.-re.; q.-re.
	Ingratitud vengada, La	99	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	....	?
	Soldado amante, El	51	13	4	..	8	3	9	2	1 (2)	1	?
1588-1595?	Ganso de oro, El	14	60	..	..	4	7	11	..	1 (3)	....	q.-q.; re.-li.; su.-ter.
1588-1595?	Hijo venturoso, El	98	..	2	..	..	..	..	..		....	re.-re.; re.-re.; re.-re.
1588-1595?	Infanta desesperada, La	63	20	..	..	2	..	13	..	..	(12 11. ses.)	q.-su.; q.-re.; oct.-re.
1590?	Grao de Valencia, El	69	10	1	..	11	3	11	..	(1)	....	re.-su.; q.-re.; oct.-re.
1593?	Enredos de Benito, Los	87	..	..	..	1	8	2	..	..	....	?
?	Comendadores de Córdoba, Los	63	21	2	1	..	..	5	..	3 (8)	....	q.-re.; re.-re.; re.-re.

III.—FIVE OF JUAN DE LA CUEVA'S PLAYS (*Four Acts*)

Date	Title	Redondillas	Quintillas	Romances	Décimas	Octaves	Tercets	Sueltos	Silvas	Sonnets	Miscellaneous verse	Opening and closing verses in each act Remarks
1579	Muerte de Don Sancho, La	60	..	..	..	38	2	..	..	..	2 (can.)	can.-re.; oct.-re.; oct.-oct.; oct.-oct.
	Ajax	63	..	..	..	31	2	..	..	1 (2)	....	oct.-oct.; son.-re.; oct.-re.; ter.-oct.
	Tutor, El	91	..	..	..	4	3	..	..	1 (1)	....	son.-re.; ter.-re.; oct.-re.; oct.-re.
1580	Virginia y Appio Claudio	37	..	..	..	57	3	..	..	1 (1)	....	ter.-re.; oct.-re.; son.-oct.; oct.-oct.
	Príncipe tirano, El (*comedia*)	35	..	..	..	64	2	..	..	..	....	oct.-oct.; oct.-oct.; ter.-oct.; oct.-oct.

IV.—FOUR OF CERVANTES'S PLAYS

1580?	Numancia (*Four Acts*)	20	..	..	..	57	19	1	..	..	....	oct.-oct.; oct.-re.; oct.-re.; oct.-oct.
?	Trato de Argel, El (*Four Acts*)	42	7?	..	..	10	16	21	..	..	1 (ses.)	re.-re.; q.-su.; su.-su.; ses.-oct.
1600?	Gran Sultana, La	36	29	17	..	3	1	..	..	(1)	....	ter.-son.; re.-re.; su? (si?)-su.
1614?	Baños de Argel, Los	12	65	4	..	3	2	5 (?)	1 (?)	..	....	ter.-q.; q.-q.; su.-re.

V.—THREE OF CALDERON'S PLAYS

1632-1635?	Vida es sueño, La	17	4	57	10	1	..	..	9	..	....	si.-ro.; ro.-dé.; ro.-ro.
1637	Mágico Prodigioso, El	16	8	60	5	..	..	..	8	..	....	ro.-ro.; re.-ro.; si.-ro.
1680?	Hado y divisa de Leónido	10	1–	85	..	..	..	..	3	..	....	ro.-ro.; ro.-ro.; ro.-ro (riming couplet)

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